The CRISIS

MARCH, 1957

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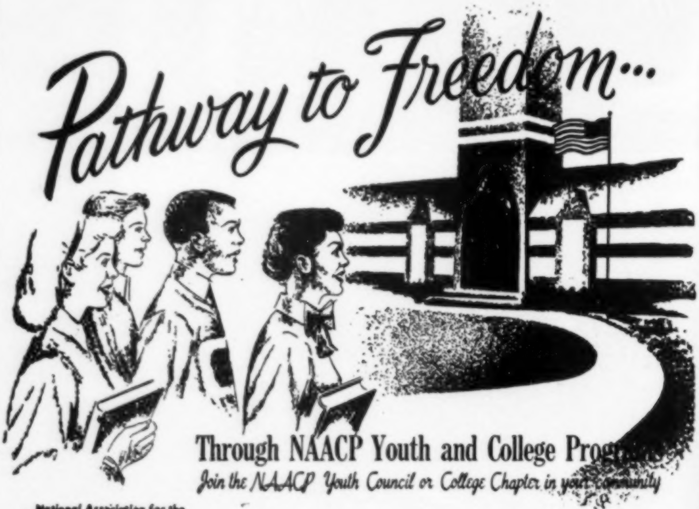
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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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Scott L. Henderson

WARM *handshake for Dr. Mordecai Wyatt Johnson, president of Howard University, at the conclusion of what his audience termed the greatest civil-rights address of his career. Dr. Johnson had just addressed the Virginia State Conference of NAACP branches in Petersburg, Virginia. He clasps the small but firm hand of little Richard Murray as his mother, Mrs. Mary Murray of Warrington, Virginia, lends her approval. Mrs. Murray is an active worker in Virginia's Faquier county NAACP branch.*

■ In this piece a Southern scholar analyzes some of the aspects of segregation

Segregation — Voluntary and Involuntary

By Thomas Jackson Woofter

IT WILL surprise those who believe that segregation is and always was the Southern way of life to learn that the rigid segregation of the races by law as we know it today was not written on the statute books until the decade of the 1890's. The exceptions were separate schools and separate army units.

The jim-crow statutes came at about the same time as the withdrawal of the vote in the decade which was characterized by the surrender to hate and passion. In fact, the two issues were bound up together by the demagogs and the wavers of the red shirts. Up to that time there had been relatively free association of the races in public facilities. . . .

Nor were these segregation laws enacted without Southern opposition. In 1897 a Charleston, South Carolina, editor commented on the proposed jim-crow law for trains: "We can do nothing whatever about northern or outside opinion in the matter. It is a question for our own decision according to our own ideas as to what is right and expedient, and our opinion is that we have no more need for a jim-crow system this year than we had last year and a great deal less than we had twenty or thirty years ago. Such a law would be unnecessary and uncalled for, a needless affront to our respectable and well behaved colored people." Before that a Southern editor had written: "It is a great deal pleasanter to travel with respectable and well behaved colored people than with unmannerly and ruffianly white men."

But the voices of moderation were drowned out by the chorus of race

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[*] This article is adapted from Chapter 15 of the author's forthcoming book, *Southern Race Progress*, to be published late this spring by the Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C.

DR. THOMAS JACKSON WOOFTER, *sociologist, was born in Macon, Georgia, and educated at the University of Georgia, Columbia University (from which he holds a doctorate), and the Sorbonne, Paris, France. He is the author of many books and articles in the area of race relations.*

haters and fanatics. Within a few years a network of segregation laws spread like an epidemic through the states and cities prohibiting the contact of the races in every phase of public life.

An iron curtain was fixed between the races inexorably. They could work together and joke together on the street but otherwise when the Negro appeared in public he must retire behind the barriers—quarantined as a leper. To the white man the curtain was a symbol of superiority by which the most lowly member of the dominant race could console himself with the feeling that he was superior to somebody. To the Negro it was a badge of hate, a symbol of shame, and a device which subjected him to the most flagrant discrimination, a method of assuring him that he could not participate equally in the progress which he was helping to achieve, that he could never be a full-fledged American citizen.

Segregation is a general term covering any degree of separateness of the races. There are, however, at least three types of segregation which arise from different circumstances and different motives. The first type, which arises from geographic or economic differences, might better be classed as isolation. The second, which arises from the trait of human nature which makes like seek to associate with like, might well be called voluntary clannishness or solidarity. The third, which, by law or custom, decrees separate facilities for the receipt of any service to which a person should be entitled as an American citizen or by reason of the payment of a fixed fee, may better be considered as forcible division.

CONFUSED ARGUMENTS

The three are often confused in argument. Frequently all types of segregation are branded as immoral, un-Christian an un-American, when, as a matter of fact, the accuser has only one type in mind. Just as frequently all segregation is defended as inevitable and necessary to racial harmony and to the preservation of white standards when, in reality, the argument of the defender applies only to certain types of separation. There might be considerably more light and less heat on the subject if the discussants could keep in mind just what is biting them when they froth at the mouth about segregation.

Geographic or economic isolation comes through the impersonal operation of the economic system. In the rural South certain lands, particularly adapted to the culture of cotton and tobacco, have attracted and held Negro labor to a greater extent than others. There was a cleavage between the counties surrounding my home city, Athens, Georgia. To the north, in the upper piedmont hills, Negro populations were distinctly in the minority. To the South, the better cotton lands had been held in larger tracts and cultivated with Negro labor. These were the black-belt counties which still have heavy Negro majorities. Within the black-belt counties further concentration was occurring. The white farmers were moving to town faster, leaving the rural areas blacker. When it is considered that the average plantation had about 16 tenant families with one white landlord, if he lived on the place, it will be realized that six such plantations side by side would include 100 Negro families and a maximum of six white families, constituting a fairly solid Negro settlement covering some ten square miles.

THE NEGRO NEIGHBORHOOD

The process in the city was somewhat similar. Negroes wanted to live near their work in houses which they could afford with their meagre wages. Houses were built for them in areas where low priced land could be bought, thus resulting in a high degree of concentration. In my home town, Athens, Georgia, there were twelve distinct Negro settlements scattered through a small city. The core of these settlements was solid but the fringes often contained mixed blocks. Here and there servants' houses still remained in the backyards of employers in exclusive neighborhoods, which was the traditional ante-bellum pattern.

The evolution of the Negro neighborhood in the large northern city, which in many instances resulted in more compact settlement than in southern cities, was a somewhat different process since the Negro here was rapidly filling up areas previously occupied by white people. The influence of economic forces and social cohesion were, however, equally traceable.

Once the Negro neighborhood was staked out by the economic forces, it was solidified and extended by the second urge to separateness arising from the desire of like to associate with like. The economic neighborhood tended to become the social community.

The value placed on this sociability is illustrated by the philosophy of the yardman who was employed by one of my friends. When she sympathized with him about the disadvantaged position of the Negroes and their run down neighborhoods, he replied: "Don't you worry too much about us Miss Aline. You oughta to be a Negro just once on Saturday night."

Each city has a pattern of its own, the degree of separateness depending upon topography, the distribution of industry, the layout of transportation lines, and the historical trends of property values. The city neighborhood was something into which the growing Negro population had to fit itself as best it could without much individual choice. From time to time shortlived attempts have been made to crystallize residential segregation in both rural and urban communities by law, but these soon proved unconstitutional, impractical, and to a large extent unnecessary since economic realities, social cohesion, and community pressures were sufficient.

ECONOMIC DISADVANTAGES

Although these neighborhoods arise from the operation of economic and social forces their existence opens the door to discrimination and exploitation. It is easy for the municipal authorities to neglect them. They are served by the poorest streets in town, sewer and water facilities are lacking, and sanitary inspection lax. Discrimination against them is more evident in cities in which the Negro is unable to protect himself with the ballot. Even so it is practically impossible to determine where economic disadvantage leaves off and discrimination begins since the low property values in such neighborhoods will not support the assessments for all municipal improvements.

The point at which separate neighborhoods become especially objectionable to the educated and respectable colored people is when law or community pressure locks them in with the unkempt and unmannerly members of their own race. Attempts, never successful, have been made to enforce residential segregation in the South. How community pressures operate in the North is a story more fully described elsewhere.

The second type of segregation, the association of like with like, or solidarity, needs no sanction of law nor can it be changed by law. It is a matter of personal choice. Lord Bryce observed: "As regards social relations, law can do but little save in the way of expressing the view the State takes of how its members should behave to one another. Good feeling and good manners cannot be imposed by statute." Nor is it particularly undemocratic or immoral to wish to control the choice of those who you will invite into your home or your club or with whom you wish your children to play.

When confronted with the argument that all segregation should be abolished it is this type of social separation which is upermost in the Southerner's mind. The prospect of not being able to choose his own associates makes him see red and ask: "Would you like for your daughter to marry a Negro?"

PREROGATIVE OF CHOICE

Negroes themselves wish to exercise the same prerogative of choice. It is this feeling on the part of the educated Negro which understandably is back of his objection to being tied by law or custom to the disadvantaged members of his own race. A peculiar twist of the operation of exclusiveness was, until recently, observable in Charleston where there was a "high yellow" church whose members were well-to-do mulattoes and where black Negroes were not welcomed.

The South did not invent this type of exclusiveness, nor does it have a monopoly on it. It is of the same stripe as the former attitude of steel cities to the "hunkies," or of Boston, first, to the Irish; then to the Italians. In fact the blue-blooded Bostonian is reputed to feel that way about any one whose ancestors have not lived for generations in New England. Slavery has been blamed for the unwillingness of the white South to associate with Negroes, but the etiquette of slavery was based on the customs of the English manorial system which was characterized by a rigid code of relationship between the Lord of the manor and his servants or tenants. This code has its survivals in the customs of British colonials who live in lands alongside of other races.

In its most extreme form it is manifest in the caste system of India (which country incidentally is one of the shrillest critics of southern race relations) where ironclad rules govern the association between the multitudes of castes; where castes may not intermarry; where they are confined to the traditional caste occupation; and where in some cases contact with other castes is limited by restrictions on touching, associating with, dining with, or eating food cooked by outsiders. It is found in Russia in the attitude of the Russian people toward some of the ill-starred minorities of the Soviet Union, and the Han Chinese think no other nationality is worthy of their association.

VOLUNTARY SEPARATION

These are only samples of the multitude of bi-racial and bi-national situations in which groups value their social solidarity.

To point out the prevalence of voluntary separation of people of different races should not imply either praise or condemnation of this practice. After all, as Lord Bryce said, that is a matter of individual morals and manners.

Social relationships are in the realm of behavior where, with good will and good manners, accommodations will be made with the minimum of embarrassment. I have seen it work out in public meetings in the South where no separate seating was prescribed. A Negro would walk in, hesitate, and look around for a seat next to another Negro. A white man would walk in and if he objected to sitting near a Negro he would sit elsewhere. If he didn't object he would sit in any seat which suited him. I have even seen it work the same way when Negro members of organizations were invited to official dinners in the South. I have seen it work that way in the unsegregated government cafeterias in Washington for fifteen years and none of the color has ever rubbed off on me yet. Individual choice usually takes care of everybody's feelings except those of the extremely prejudiced persons who object to eating under the same roof with a person of color.

There is nothing social about public contact, nor does it in any way change a person's choice as to whom he will invite into his home or seek out as a companion for wining and dining. The atmosphere could be cleared considerably if advocates of segregation could realize that public contact does not necessitate private association. It is something separate and apart from "social equality" or intermarriage. We noted that for three decades there was little forced segregation in public facilities in the South, yet no social intermingling ensued, nor was intermarriage even thought of. There has been less enforced public segregation in the North, nor is intermarriage a problem of consequence there.

In his calmer moments the Southern white man knows that the nine justices of the Supreme Court are not going to march South at the head of the army to compel him to invite a Negro to dinner three nights a week, or arrange a shotgun interracial marriage for his daughter, even though he may talk like he believes it when excited.

In all seriousness, however, the Southern white man feels that he has a real job on his hands to preserve the cultural standards which his ancestors have painfully evolved over centuries of time. This is especially true in areas of heavy Negro majorities where the Negroes have progressed least. A casual observer of these communities cannot fail to note that in spite of marked progress, there still exist wide differences between the average individuals of the two races in health, morals, manners, and education, differences freely admitted by the most violent opponents of segregation. As long as wide differences exist the white man will put as much social distance as possible between his family and the family of the Negro.

PRESERVING STANDARDS

With respect to the preservation of standards against the contacts with persons of different manners and morals, the white South finds itself in a quandary. Segregation is the method adopted, yet the longer that the Negroes are kept apart from the currents of progress with inferior facilities, the longer will their standards be lower than those of the average level of the whites. Even in spite of these handicaps, however, an increasing number of colored people, by dint of great effort, have overcome the handicaps of their environment and, by any measure applied, measure up to the requirements of first-class American citizens.

Having endeavored to analyze the nature of economic and social solidarity or exclusiveness, we may summarize these by saying that these aspects of race relations are untouchable by law and are in the realm of individual income, manners, and morals. As long as no compulsion is invoked and as long as discrimination is avoided the economic and social relationships can be worked out between men of good will and of good manners, especially when the long processes of education can be relied on to gradually minimize the repugnant differences.

MORAL PRINCIPLES

When, however, the question of legal segregation in public facilities is considered, different moral principles and democratic concepts are involved. Public contacts are either in those facilities for which a Negro pays the same money as a white man and hence should receive the same service, chiefly on trains, buses, restaurants, and theatres; or they are in those institutions which administer a public service to which citizens are entitled as citizens and which a modern democracy considers necessary to develop the human values necessary to the advance of civilization. Separation in this realm is Jim Crow. He writes his edicts on statute books and over doorways of separate waiting rooms and seating accomodations. He builds them into separate buildings. Everywhere he rubs it into the Negro that he is not wanted. He labels him a second-class citizen. He pins the black badge of inferiority on all Negroes, not on the basis of economic ability or health or behavior or educational attainment, but simply on the basis of the color of his skin. He separates all

(*Continued on page* 190)

Crawford

EDWARD JACKSON *(left), treasurer of the Cleveland, Ohio, branch for forty years, receives his NAACP life membership plaque from Dr. James E. Levy, branch president. The life membership was a gift from the branch to Mr. Jackson.* **BOTTOM:** *Mayor Anthony J. Celebrezze of Cleveland signs the order officially proclaiming NAACP Week, September 16-22, 1956. Witnessing the signing (from L) are Msgr. Robert Navin, Dr. James E. Levy, branch president; Heman Sweatt, branch executive secretary; and Dr. N. K. Christopher, NAACP board member.*

TOMMY SMALLS *(left), popular New York City disc jockey introduces James Speller at a recent youth talent show sponsored by the Bronx, New York, NAACP youth council. More than 500 youths packed the Bronx Community Center to applaud outstanding amateur talent.*

PARTICIPANTS *in the Los Angeles, California, branch's first lawyers civil-rights workshop shown here (seated from L) are Loren Miller, Carl Earles, Rayfield Lundy, and James Flennoy; standing, Welford Wilson, Franklin Williams, Jack Tenner, Fred Gray, Thomas Neusom, Al Wirin, and George L. Vaughn, Jr.* CENTER: *Delegates to the West Coast NAACP advisory committee meeting held in San Francisco which laid plans for adopting NAACP branches in Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas during the 1957 spring membership campaign.* BOTTOM: *Special activities committee of the Los Angeles branch organized by Mrs. Lillie Montgomery in 1950 to provide much needed financial support for the branch.*

HOTEL STATLER

Harry Cox—Maceo Sheffield

Noah W. Griffin, NAACP branch field secretary, receives token of appreciation from Mrs. Lazetta Hanley, executive committee member, at an executive committee dinner in Mr. Griffin's honor given by the Kansas City, Missouri, branch last December.

Rev. C. S. Scott, vice-president Kansas City, Missouri, branch presiding at freedom fund mass meeting held last December at Metropolitan Missionary Baptist church. Mrs. Autherine Lucy Foster was the principal speaker and more than a 1,000 people contributed $1,400.

The St. Louis, Missouri, branch awards the Mary Bethune Trophy to the Homer Phillips Hospital Alumni Auxiliary for its fund raising activities on behalf of the local branch. Mrs. Kitty Hall (L) presents trophy to Mrs. J. J. Thomas and Mrs. William Smiley.

Last November the Berean church, whose recent motto has been "Dollas for First-Class Citizenship," presented Willoughby Abner (L), president of the Chicago, Illinois, branch a $500 check for an NAACP life membership.

West coast secretary-counsel, Franklin H. Williams, presents regional membership award to Mrs. Marnesba Tackett, chairman of the Los Angeles, California, branch drive which netted nearly 14,000 members. Branch president Thomas Neusom and board member Rev. J. Raymond Henderson witness presentation.

Three NAACP life memberships were taken out at St. Louis, Missouri, branch membership tea. Initial payments are made to branch president Ernest Calloway by Frank Ward, on behalf of Okolona-Mississippi Club of St. Louis; Mrs. Ruth Flowers, Flowers Institute of Cosmetology; Mrs. Suretha Marshall, United Beauticians Association.

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WILLIAM COHEN, *president of Brooklyn, New York, college chapter, discussing youth's role in the 1956 election at a political education forum sponsored by the New York Youth Coordinating Council.*

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY *(New York City) college chapter activities recently included participation in the Carnival of Clubs sponsored by the Inter-club Council of the university; discussion (center) of admission of the NYU chapter to the Inter-club Council; and a recent meeting of the NAACP university chapter. Pictured, from left, are Jack Sisman, treasurer; King Burns, vice-president; Russell Crawford, president New York Branch; Gerald Morton, president NYU chapter; and Joel Reed, chairman membership committee.*

■ **A summary report on the discriminatory practices at Lockheed**

Status of Negro Workers at Lockheed Aircraft Corporation

By Herbert Hill

THIS report is confined to working conditions in the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation plant at Marietta, Georgia. The plant employs 17,350 workers, of which number 1,350 are Negroes. These workers have a collective bargaining agreement with the Georgia Division of the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation and the International Association of Machinists, AFL-CIO, and Industrial District Lodge No. 33.

Almost a thousand of the 1,350 Negroes employed in the plant are concenterated in two departments, Departments 2308 and 2309. A smaller number were in Department 2113, which was recently abolished. The overwhelming majority of Negroes employed in these two departments are classified as "structural assembly helpers." Of the 450 job classifications established within the plant Negroes are to be found in no more than 20. The majority of supervisors in the two all-Negro departments are white. The Company's policy is to have a limited number of Negroes in "lead man" positions only in the Negro departments; therefore, because Negroes can only be promoted to supervisory jobs within the Negro work force, the opportunities for Negro promotion are extremely limited.

An examination of the work history of individual Negro employees indicates a deliberate practice on the part of the Company to continuously consolidate the Negro work force into more rigidly segregated groups. Whatever job diversification there is

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HERBERT HILL *is labor secretary of the NAACP.*

among Negro employees is within segregated Negro departments. The Company has been systematically abolishing a number of departments in which Negroes previously were employed and has now virtually completely consolidated the entire Negro work force into two departments, 2308 and 2309. These two departments are universally referred to throughout the plant as the "colored departments."

Negroes are not employed in any clerical departments or in the Personnel Department. Two or three Negroes are in some "white collar" occupations but this does not change the pattern of racial segregation and job limitation which exists at the Lockheed Plant.

The Company employs approximately 2,400 white women but only seven Negro women. The white women are employed in various electrical wiring and sub-assembly classifications. All seven Negro women are in janitorial and custodial positions, such as tending washrooms, cleaning, etc. The supervisor for the Negro women is a white person.

APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

Negroes are denied admission to the apprentice training program, which is conducted jointly by the Company and the Union. In the last five years there has not been a single Negro admitted to the apprenticeship training program even though Negroes have repeatedly attempted to secure admission. The practical effects of this discriminatory policy is to prevent Negroes from developing on-the-job training which would permit them to qualify for more skilled jobs.

There is obviously a policy of collusion between the Union and the Company in preventing Negroes from participating in the apprentice training program. This is in violation of the official policy of the International Association of Machinists which, at least formally, has established a non-discriminatory policy in its *National Apprenticeship Manual.*

With very rare exceptions Negroes are not hired above the classification of "assembly helper." This is true regardless of the previous work history and the training of the Negro applicant. A typical example is that of Mr. Jones L. Porter, Badge #568672, employed approximately 3½ years, age 42. Mr. Porter was previously an Air Force Technical Sergeant functioning as an aircraft engineer mechanic with the U. S. Air Force. Mr. Porter applied for employment with the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation as a "flight line mechanic," was refused, and hired later as a "structural assembly helper." The same was also true for Mr. Marion Armstrong, Badge #502819, employed approximately 3½ years. Mr. Armstrong is a high school graduate with one year of college and some vocational training. Although he was qualified like many white workers for employment as flight line mechanic, he was hired as "structural assembly helper." These two examples are typical.

SENIORITY VIOLATIONS

The seniority rights of Negroes are deliberately and systematically violated. It is clear that officials of the Union are in collusion with the Company to violate the seniority clause contained in the collective bargaining agreement. When Negroes approach a seniority rating that would qualify them for a higher classification the Company often reclassifies the job or moves the job operation completely out of the Negro work group. This recently took place when Negroes began to qualify for promotions into the classification of "hydraulic installer." As soon as Negroes bid for these jobs the Company removed operation out of the department.

The collective bargaining agreement specifies that employees may bid for job vacancies as they occur before the Company hires from the open labor market. ARTICLE IV, Section 10 of the AGREEMENT (Page 35) states that "preference shall be given to the most senior qualified employees where ability, skill and efficiency are substantially equal." Where Negroes bid for job vacancies in higher classifications seniority provisions of the union contract are repeatedly violated.

It is the practice of the Company through the use of a code to racially identify every plant employee in the plant-wide seniority roster. The code is as follows: "1" designates a white male; "2," a white female; "4," a Negro.

An investigation of the referral records in both the white and colored offices of the Georgia State Employment Service clearly indicates that the Company makes one kind of job referral through the white offices of the Georgia SES and another kind of job referral through the colored offices.

PLANT SEGREGATION

One has only to walk through the plant to witness the total pattern of racial segregation in every phase of the Company's operation. White and colored signs are to be found throughout the plant, over water fountains, in the plant cafeteria and even in the medical dispensary. One finds isolated groups of Negroes working in separate sub-assembly operations. All custodial workers such as janitors, washroom attendants, refuse collectors, etc., are Negroes.

For all practical purposes the white and colored employees are in separate white and colored locals of the International Association of Machinists. Union officials explain that it is "accidental" that all the white workers belong to the Marietta local while all the Negroes belong to Atlanta Local 2016. There is one Negro elected by the Negro local who is the delegate to the plant-wide labor relations committee, and who is the active leader of the Negro workers . He is Alfred Holmes who was the plaintiff in the Holmes vs. City of Atlanta golf course case.

* * *

This article explains why Sierra Leonian politics have become a happy hunting ground for scalawags.

Democratic Advance In Sierra Leone

By George Padmore

THE forthcoming general elections in Sierra Leone, to be held under the new Constitution, will give a large measure of representation and provide for more autonomy in the administration of the country. It should also stimulate the emergence of a better type of politician dedicated to unselfish national service in the interest and welfare of the common people.

Although Sierra Leone is the oldest British settlement on the West African coast, it has been overtaken and surpassed by the Gold Coast and Nigeria in economic, political, and social advancement. Unfortunately, up to now, too many of the ablest young Sierra Leonians, who have had the advantage of education in Britain and America, have, on their return home, isolated themselves from the people and failed to provide their communities with the constructive leadership which is so badly needed. Unlike the African intellectuals in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, the educated elite in Sierra Leone have either turned their backs upon the people, sought safe and comfortable jobs in government service, or confined themselves to money-making in the learned professions. Consequently, there is a complete absence of disinterested leadership and direction in public life, and politics has become the happy hunting ground of scalawags.

The present constitutional advance should excite a greater interest in public affairs and provide the political environment for party politics to develop and crystallize around ideological programmes cutting across tribal and sectional interests. This is the most urgent need in all African colonies now trying to lay the foundations of parliamentary democ-

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GEORGE PADMORE, *who resides in London, England, is one of the world's foremost experts on African colonial problems. His most recent book is* Pan-Africanism or Communism?

racy. Until recent years, politics in Sierra Leone have centered around personalities, most of whom have been demagogues using their professional and social status to bamboozle the illiterate masses for their own personal aggrandizement. As long as the "rotten-borough" denied the common people their right to elect their representatives on the basis of universal adult suffrage, these charlatans and humbugs had a free run in public affairs. But from now on these opportunists will find it more and more difficult to exploit the situation, as they will have to justify their claims to office before the electorate.

CONSTITUTIONAL BACKGROUND

In order to appreciate the possibilities for the rapid growth of parliamentary democracy which the present constitutional reforms open up, it is necessary to review briefly the political evolution in Sierra Leone since the end of the second World War.

The territory, which is about the size of Ireland, has been administered, until recent years, as two distinct regions—(a) the *Colony*, with a population of about 130,000, of whom some 40,000 are Creoles, the descendants of liberated slaves from the Western World; and (b) the *Protectorate*, with a population of about two million, mostly indigenous tribes, such as the *Mende* and *Temne*.

Ever since 1863, Sierra Leone has had its own Legislative Council. It was the first British West African territory to which the Crown Colony system of government was introduced. From that time, the legislature has undergone many changes. The last reform was introduced in 1951, when the membership of the Legislative Council was increased from 10 to 23 unofficial members and the official members reduced from 11 to 7. In the Colony area the representation was increased from 3 to 7 and at the same time the more populated area of the Protectorate was alloted 14 representatives—12 chosen by district councils and 2 by the Protectorate Assembly, a có-ordinating advisory body.

The present Legislative Council consists of the governor as president, an African vice-president; 7 ex-officio members; 7 members directly elected from constituencies within the Colony area; 14 indirectly elected from the Protectorate, and 2 unofficial members nominated by the governor to represent trading and commercial interests—making a total membership of 31, excluding the governor.

PROPOSED CONSTITUTION

After a trial period of five years, the Secretary of State for the Colonies recently announced that Sierra Leone will be granted a new Constitution early in 1957 with an increased representation. Under this reformed government the Legislative Council, elected by the members, will be replaced by a House of Representatives, and will consist of a Speaker, from either within or outside the House. On the unofficial side, there will be 14 members elected from the Colony and 37 members from the Protectorate—25 elected, and 12 Paramount Chiefs, one from each of the tribal districts comprising the chiefdoms in that part of the country.

The ex-officio members will be reduced from 7 to 4—the chief secretary of the government, the financial secretary, the attorney-general, and the chief commissioner of the Protectorate. The governor, however, will have the right to nominate two members to represent foreign vested interests (trade and commerce) and will retain in his hands certain reserved powers and the veto over legislation in the interest of "good government, public safety," etc., etc.

POLITICAL LINE-UP

At the last general elections in 1951, several politicians attempted to establish political parties, but these have remained mostly mushroom organizations without any mass membership or clear-cut economic and social programmes. Two of these have survived, one is the National Council of Sierra Leone, centered around an "old school" conversative politician, Dr. Bankole Bright, and drawing its main support from among the older generation of Creoles, who resent and fear the ascendency of the tribal natives of the Protectorate. The other is the Sierra Leone People's Party, led by Mr. S. M. Margai, a first-generation Protectorate intellectual and retired government medical officer. This party enjoys the support of the majority of the chiefs and the Protectorate members in the Legislative Council, as well as of certain younger people of the Creole community in Freetown, the capital of the colony. The leaders of the Sierra Leone People's Party distrust the Creole politicians and resent their claim to be the only fit and proper people to rule the country.

Koby Cambridge

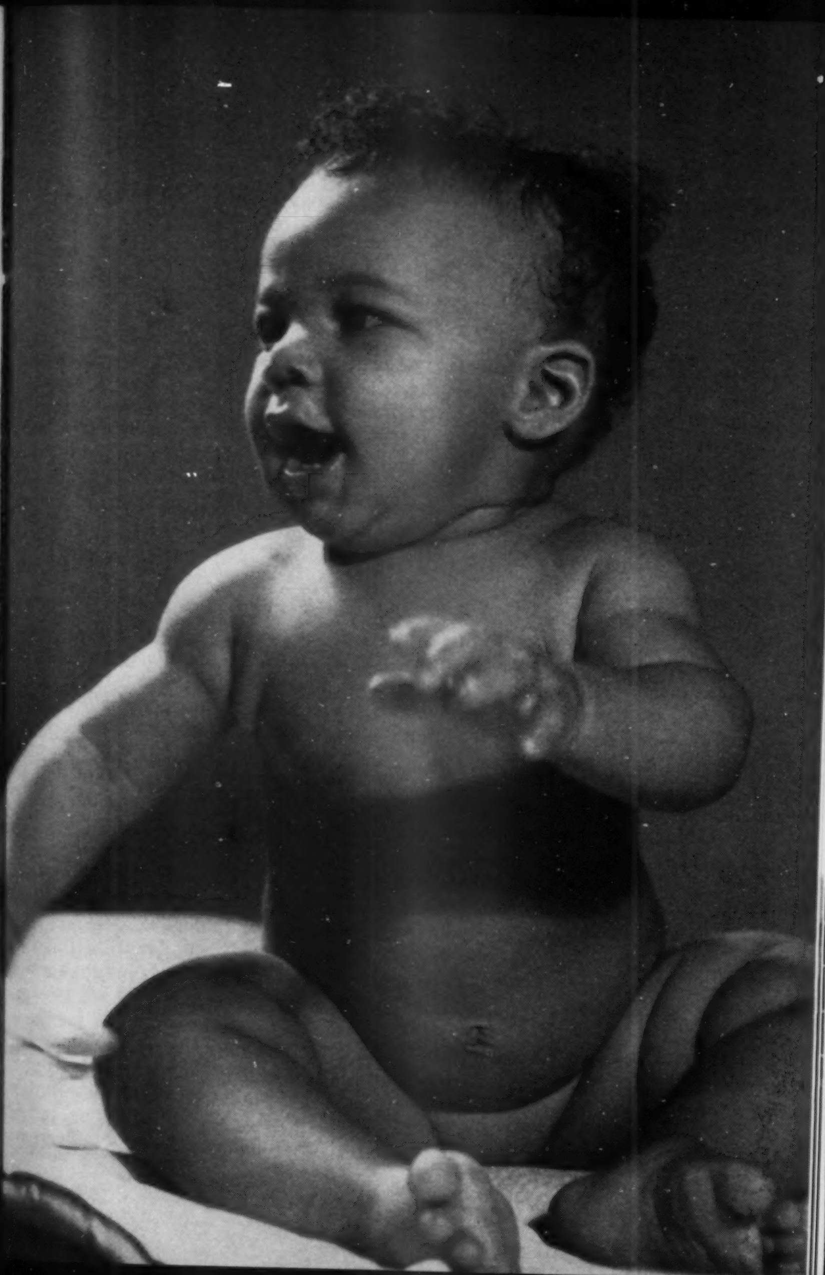
EDWARD W. BLYDEN III, *grandson of a distinguished Afro-West Indian scholar.*

MINISTERIAL SYSTEM

The cleavage between the party leaders has been accentuated by the scramble for place and office under the "Ministerial system," which the Colonial Office has introduced into most colonies since the end of the war. In April 1953, the then governor, Sir George Beresford-Stooke, appointed Mr. Margai and five other leaders of the Sierra Leone People's Party (the majority group in the Legislative Council) to be ministers in charge of various government departments. At the same time the governor conferred upon Dr. Margai the title of Chief Minister. This gesture has so infuriated the Creole politicians of the National Council that Dr. Bright and his supporters are demanding the separation of the Colony from the Protectorate, rather than live under a government ruled by Protectorate people whom they consider their "inferiors." The leaders of the Sierra Leone People's Party, however, have no such resentment against the Colony people and are willing to join forces with the progressive Creoles in promoting the integration of the two regions into one united self-governing country.

One of the hopeful features of the new situation, which the proposed Constitution has opened up, is the opportunity for young Creole intellectuals to come forward and play their part in public life. Already one of the ablest among them, Dr. E. W. Blyden, the grandson of the distinguished Afro-West Indian scholar, and himself a Harvard Ph.D., and former lecturer at Fourah Bay University College, has been invited to contest a Freetown constituency as an independent candidate. The future unity and progress of Sierra Leone will in large measure depend upon the extent to which able and progressive young Creoles, like Dr. Blyden, untainted by "aristocratic" exclusiveness, become leaders of the new national awakening. For they alone can create the means which will bridge the present gulf between the emergent people of the Protectorate and the old established westernized Creole community of the Colony area.

EVEN *at the "old" age of seven months, we find little Anita Eugenia Amos, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Preston E. Amos of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, arguing for her civil rights. She holds the distinction of being one of the few NAACP members who belonged to the organization before birth. Her parents enrolled her as an NAACP member several months before she was born on Christmas Day, 1955.*



A Distinguished Martinican Leaves the Communists

The French Communist Party has lost its most influential Negro member. Aimé Césaire, the brilliant poet and lecturer, who has been a deputy and mayor of Fort-de-France (Martinique) since 1946, has resigned from the Party. Some of his reasons are general; others are prompted by his racial identity. Excerpts from his letter of resignation, published by France Observateur *on October 25, 1956, as a public letter to Maurice Thorez, head of the French Communists, are translated here by Professor Mercer Cook of Howard University.*

Maurice Thorez:

It would be easy for me to draw up a long list of grievances or disagreements both with respect to the French Communist Party and to international communism sponsored by the Soviet Union.

The harvest [of these grievances] has been especially rich recently and Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin have plunged — or at least I hope they have plunged — into an abyss of stupor, grief, and shame, all those who participated to any extent whatsoever in Communist action.

Nothing, neither national funerals nor official speeches, will prevail against those deaths, those tortures, those executions. Their ghosts cannot be conjured away by a mechanical phrase. Henceforth their faces appear like a watermark in the very fabric of the system, like the obsession of our failure and humiliation.

And certainly the attitude of the French Communist Party, as defined at its 14th Congress, an attitude evidently dictated principally by the leaders' absurd determination not to lose face, will not dissipate the malaise or prevent the wound from festering and bleeding in the quick of our conscience.

One cannot have failed to be impressed by the reluctance of the French Communist Party to walk in the path of de-Stalinization: its unwillingness to condemn Stalin and his criminal methods, its unalterable self-satisfaction, its refusal to renounce the anti-democratic measures dear to Stalin. In short, one cannot fail to be impressed by aspects of a French Stalinism more durable than Stalin himself, which, one might conjecture, would have produced the same catastrophic results here as in Russia, if chance had brought it to power in France.

How can we conceal our disappointment? We can truthfully say that after Khrushchev's report, we were thrilled with hope. We expected the French Communists to undertake an honest re-appraisal of themselves; a salutary disassociation which might have cleared them of the crime; not a repudiation, but a new and solemn start, something on the order of a second founding of the Communist Party. Instead, all we saw at the Havre meeting was persistence in error, perseverance in falsehood, and absurd pretense of infallibility. . . .

What! All the other communists parties are stirring: in Italy, Poland, Hungary, China. And the French Communist Party, in the midst of the general upheaval, looks at itself and declares itself satisfied! Never have I been so conscious of an historical lag afflicting a great nation.

BANKRUPT IDEAL

But, however serious this grievance may be—and it should suffice, for it represents the bankruptcy of an ideal, the pathetic illustration of the failure of an entire generation—I wish to add a certain number of considerations relating to my identity as a Negro.

In the light of events (and upon reflecting on the shameful practices of anti-Semitism which were and seem to be still legal in countries claiming to be socialistic) I have reached the conclusion that our paths and those of communisim as practiced are not merging and cannot merge.

Thus, we are convinced that the colonial question cannot be treated as a part of a more important whole, a part on which others can procrastinate and reach such compromises as may seem convenient. . . .

In our countries, artificially divided from the outside, with European divisions abusively transplanted into our local politics, how could we help but resolve to sacrifice everything secondary to find the essential: that unity with our brothers which is the bulwark of our strength and the guarantee of our confidence in the future? . . .

Under these circumstances, one will understand that we cannot delegate to anyone the authority to do our thinking, our searching for us; we cannot allow anyone, even our best friend, to answer for us. If the objective of all progressive politics is the eventual liberation of colonial peoples, at least the everyday action of progressive parties must not run counter to the desired objective, and must not destroy day by day the very bases—organizational and psychological—of this future liberty.

Let me refer more especially to my unfortunate country, Martinique. I refer to her in order to point out that the French Communist Party is absolutely unable to offer her any perspective other than an Utopian one. The French Communist Party has never bothered to offer her any perspective at all; it has never thought about us except in respect to world strategy that is itself confusing.

I refer to Martinique in order to note that communism has finished putting around her neck the noose of assimilation; that communism has completely isolated her in the Caribbean; that it has finished by pushing her into a kind of insular ghetto; that it has finally cut her off from other West Indian countries whose experience could be at once instructive and fruitful to her (for they have the same problems that we have and their democratic evolution is dynamic). In fine, communism has finally cut us off from Africa, whose evolution now leads in the opposite direction from our own.

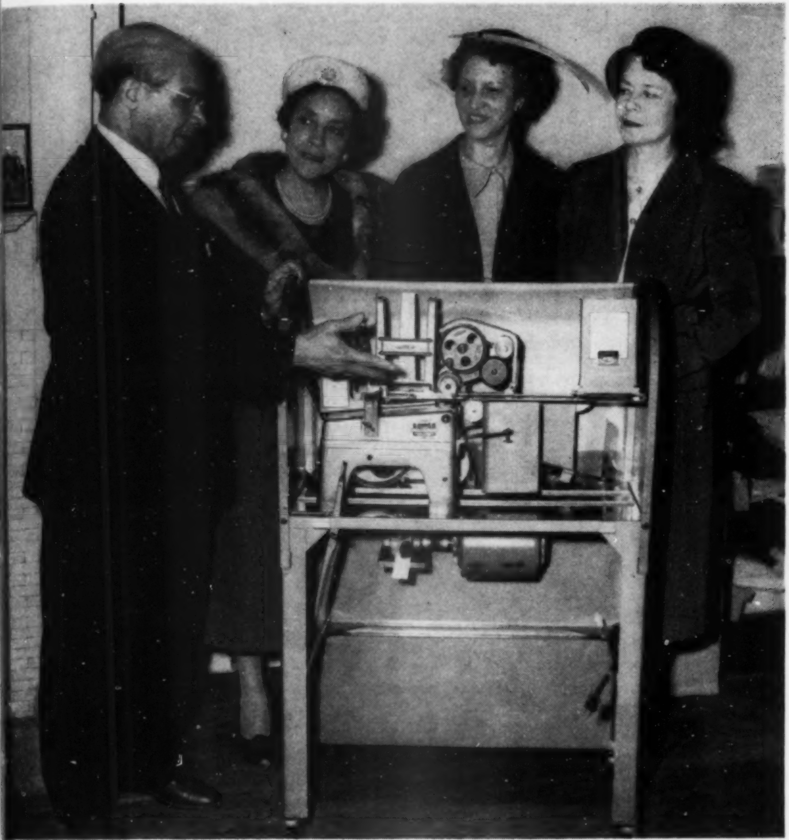
BOGUS DOCTRINE

I think I have said enough to make it clear that I am renouncing neither Marxism nor communism, but rather the use that certain people have made of Marxism and communism. What I want is for Marxism and communism to be placed at the service of Negro peoples and not Negro peoples at the service of Marxism and communism. Let the doctrine and the movement be made for men, not men for the doctrine and the movement. And, of course, this does not apply to communists alone. If I were a Christian or Moslem, I would say the same thing; namely, that no doctrine is valid for us unless it is revised by us and turned toward us. . . . Here a veritable Copernican revolution is necessary, so deeply rooted in Europe, in all parties and in all domains, from the Extreme Right to the Extreme Left, is the habit of acting for us, of arranging for us, of thinking for us, in short, the habit of questioning our right to exercise initiative . . . the right to a personality.

I say there will never be an African, Madagascan or West Indian variant of communism, because the French Communist Party considers its duty toward colonial peoples in terms of a dictatorship, and because the anticolonialism even of French communists still bears the stigmata of the colonialism which they combat. Furthermore—and this amounts to the same thing—there will be no communism appropriate to each of the colonial countries, so long as the office on the rue Saint Georges, the office of the colonial section of the French Communist Party, that perfect counterpart of the ministry [of Overseas Territories] on the rue Oudinot, persists in thinking of our countries as mandated territories. . . .

Under these circumstances, I beg you to receive my resignation as a member of the French Communist Party.

AIME CESAIRE, born in 1913 in Basse-Pointe, Martinique, was a professor at Schoelcher College, Fort-de-France, when "discovered" by André Breton, surrealist poet and essayist. Césaire is considered by many to be France's greatest living poet. Breton describes him as a "Negro with a greater command of the French language than any present-day white poet." He is also a tremendously erudite man. Césaire's poetry is highly personal and race-conscious. His published works, none of which has been translated into English, include *Les Armes Miraculeuses* (Gallimard), *Cahier d'un Retour au Pays Natal* (Bordas), *Soleil Cou Coupé* (Editions K), and *Corps Perdu* (Editions Fragrance). *Cahier d'un Retour . . .* is his most important poem; *Discours sur le Colonialisme* (Présence Africaine) is an impassioned attack upon colonialism in general and French colonialism in particular.—*Editor*



Cabell Photo

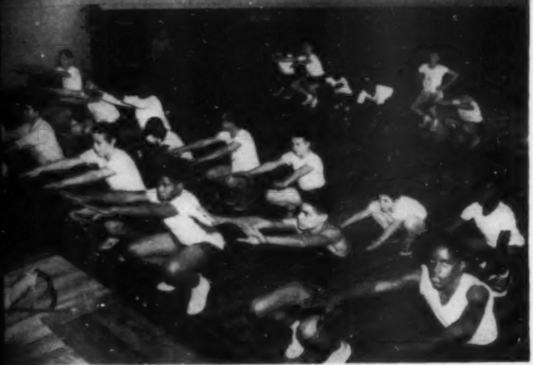
AN ADDRESSING MACHINE *is presented to the District of Columbia branch of the NAACP by the Washington chapter of the Women's Civic Guild. Shown accepting the gift is Eugene Davidson, president of the D. C. branch. Guild members making the presentation are (from L) Mrs. Mattie Herriott, Mrs. Dorothy De Leon, chairman; and Mrs. Marie Smith. The automatic addressing machine will be used to address IMPACT and other correspondence to the branch's 10,000 members.*

Wide World

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION *works in Louisville, Kentucky. The Dupont Manual has both junior and senior schools and this photo shows ninth grade (junior high) students in primary band sessions. Superintendent Omer Carmichael desegregated the Louisville public schools, after two years preparation, with the opening of schools in 1956.*

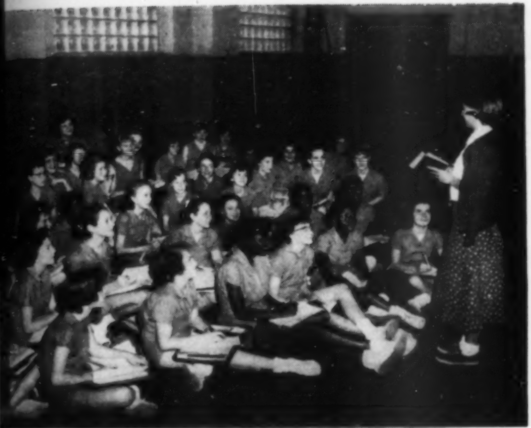
Children eating in the cafeteria at the Nicholas Finzer primary school in Louisville, Kentucky.

Wide World



A mixed class in a gym session at the Manly junior high school in Louisville, Kentucky. This is a class in calesthenics.

Wide World



A mixed girls' gym class having a skull session at the Louisville, Kentucky, Manly junior high school.

Wide World

Bernard Williams (left) receives the renewed NAACP membership of Mayor James Hennessy of Joliet, Illinois, while branch president Dr. L. H. Holman looks on.

Matthews Studio

The fight is not yet won . . . have you done your part

TO CRUMBLE TH

LIFE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

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In the feverish struggles of anti-integrationists, many optimistically see the death throes of segregation. But the fight is far from won. In spite of some weakening racial barriers, die-hards of segregation are becoming more bitter, more desperate, as seen in the anti-Constitutional efforts in some parts of the South to ban the NAACP and nullify the progress and protection of the Negro in his fight for a first-class citizenship. The flame *is* kindled in a freedom-loving America. Fan it into effective reality at this crucial moment with your most powerful weapon. Become a Life Member of the NAACP today.

BARRIERS OF RACISM?

Send to your local
branch or the
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

I wish to become a Life Member of the NAACP.

☐ I enclose check of $……………………
as first payment toward a Life Membership.

☐ I enclose check of $500 for full Life Membership.

Name……………………

Address……………………

City and State……………………

Editorials

VIRGINIA ATTACKS NAACP

VIRGINIA is the latest southern state to assail the NAACP. With a package of seven bills passed last September 29 by an extra session of the Virginia General Assembly at its disposal, the State has begun its attack with the ultimate goal, of course, of putting the Association out of business locally. These laws make it illegal for Virginians to "advocate" anything touching upon racial matters. They make it impossible for lawyers to accept the cases of clients who might challenge racial situations. They make it illegal for citizens, either individually or as organized groups, to resort to the courts for redress of a racial inequity. They withhold state funds from any school which is racially integrated. And needless to say these laws threaten the liberties of all Virginians.

IMPLEMENTATION of the statutes has begun with requests from Virginia's Committe on Law Reform and Racial Activities and the Committee on Offenses Against Administration of Justice requesting that the NAACP furnish them such detailed data as the following:

> . . . The names and addresses of the principal officers of your corporation and also the names and addresses of the agents, servants, employees, officers and voluntary workers and associates through whom your corporation carries on its activities in this state [Virginia], and also the names of your stockholders and members in this state, together with the last known addresses of all the above designated persons. . . .

These committees also want "copies of all correspondence between your organization and persons in Virginia to whom your organization has rendered legal aid directly or indirectly . . . copies of all correspondence between your organization and persons in this state who have been parties litigant or prospective parties litigant in proceedings involving admission to or exclusion from the public free schools. . . ."

PURPOSE of this information is obvious. It is going to be put to the disreputable use of harassment and reprisal against the Association. That is why the NAACP Board of Directors voted on February 11 to "withhold the names and addresses of its members and contributors in Virginia" pending determination of a suit now before the United States District Court challenging the constitutionally of the State's anti-NAACP laws.

Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins, in informing the committees of the Board's decision, noted that many members of the Association are so "circumstanced that they feel that they cannot afford to have the fact of their membership in this organization become public knowledge." He then justified this apprehension by citing instances of economic reprisals, intimidation, harassment, and even violence directed against the NAACP membership.

"Moreover," he added, "we do not think your committee can validly require us to reveal the identity of our members. We think that the compelled production of this information would constitute an unwarranted invasion of our freedom of privacy, assembly, speech, and press and those of our members."

These maneuvers by various southern states, both legal and otherwise, are designed to put the NAACP out of business locally. They show the determined refusal of certain southern elements to accept the law of the land when it goes contrary to their prejudices. This rising of the Southern Vendée exposes the weakness of their prosegregation position. A revolution is underway in the South and the racial reactionaries are futilely trying to stem it.

WE SALUTE GHANA

THE CRISIS, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and American Negroes hail the independence of the Gold Coast within the British Commonwealth under the name of Ghana. We wish the highest and the best for Ghanaians in the years that lie ahead. May Ghana's success foreshadow the independence of the rest of Africa.

Credit for Gold Coast independence goes primarily to one man, the present Prime Minister, Kwame Nkrumah. It was Mr. Nkrumah who formed the Convention People's Party (CPP) on June 12, 1949, just eight years ago, with the assistance of Kojo Botsio, Krobo Edusei, Kwesi Plange, K. A. Gbedemah, N. A. Welbeck, and Kofi Baako. Dzenkle Dzewu and Ashie Nikoi later defected. Mr. Nkrumah then set out to win support from the rank and file of his people. "We excluded no one," he said: "for, if a national movement is to succeed, every man, and woman of goodwill must be allowed to play a part."

WOMEN formed the backbone of the Party. "So fervent were these women, in fact," explains Mr. Nkrumah, "that while I was in jail and the Party organization was at its most critical period, I learned that at a rally in Kumasi a woman party member who adopted the name of Ama Nkrumah ('Ama' being the female equivalent of 'Kwame') got up on the platform and ended a fiery speech by getting hold of a blade and slashing her face. Then smearing the blood over her body, she challenged the men to do likewise in order to show that no sacrifice was too great in their united struggle for freedom and independence." (*Ghana:* The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah. Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1957.)

Undisturbed by the fog of compromise, Mr. Nkrumah looked into the heart of the colonial problem and resolved to free his people. "To imagine," he says, "that these colonial powers [Britain and France] will hand freedom and independence to their colonies on a silver platter without compulsion is the height of folly."

There is hope for all Africa when this leaven of Ghana is at work throughout the continent.

Looking and Listening . . .

"PRESENT NEED"

IN concluding his keynote address to the tenth annual NAIRO Conference, Edward Howden, director of the Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco, California, outlined the "must" character of the task ahead if the United States is to have equality for all Americans.

There are "two sets of considerations," he said, which must be brought home to the American people:

That events on the civil rights front today reveal a dangerous tendency on the part of Americans generally to tolerate a growing and serious threat to the democratic structure and functioning of our government. He cited the denials of voting rights to Negroes in sections of the South, the centralization of power inherent in the seniority system of determining committee chairmanships in Congress, the arbitrary power over legislation wielded by committee chairmen. Breakdowns in law and order in many communities, the ugly erosions of our treasured judicial processes as murderers and floggers go free, witnesses are silenced, and the old double standard of justice persists . . . cause the whole community, in its very essence, to suffer, he said. 'Is there not an unqualified imperative to the nation's need to have these abuses remedied? Can we live through additional decades of such damage within the body politic?'

That our race relationships at home profoundly affect America's position on the world scene and her relationships to other nations and peoples, especially those of Asia and Africa. The stakes are immense, Mr. Howden asserted. What we do or fail to do in building these relationships with newly rising nations will affect powerfully, perhaps decisively, our success in the continuing ideological struggle with Communism, in the establishment of a more stable world peace and, ultimately, even in safeguarding America's national security. . . . Is it not obvious that, as the self-proclaimed show window of democracy, America is painfully embarrassed by the racists . . . ? Is it not terribly clear that our laggard, confused, timid handling of those who so embarrass the nation tends inevitably to discredit the capacity of democratic society to deal justly with its own people?

JOURNAL SALUTES JAMES

THE February issue of the *Ladies' Home Journal* proudly salutes the family of Lt. Col. Daniel ("Chappie") James and pays tribute to his "demonstrated ability." A seven-page article by that title, written by Mary Elizabeth Vromann (remembered for her story, "See How They Run," in the June 1951 *Journal*), Christopher-Award author, and Nelle Keyes, a *Journal* editor, present the Jameses in the article series entitled, "How America Lives." This series, now in its 17th year, each month tells the story of an American family.

Lt. Col. James is now stationed at Maxwell Air Force Base, Montgomery, Alabama. Previously, since 1953, he and his family lived at Otis Air

NEGRO OFFICER *Lt. Col. Daniel ("Chappie") James is commander of his own Air Force squadron, the 60th Fighter-Interceptor group. He was promoted over more than 5,000 majors who ranked him. Here he is with his own "squad."*

Ladies' Home Journal

Force Base, Cape Cod. There, he was commander of the 60th Fighter-Interceptor Squadron, one of the jet squadrons on which depends the air security of the East Coast, and one of the few virtually all-white outfits in the Air Force.

"Promoted over more than 5000 majors who ranked him, he did it by just one thing," the authors comment —demonstrated ability.

"In the fourteen years of their marriage, Dorothy Watkins James has seen her husband rise from Air Force cadet to lieutenant colonel, commander of the squadron — the man who, voted the state's most outstanding young man of the year, received the Massachusetts Junior Chamber of Commerce Distinguished Service Award for 1955.

"Being a Negro and working up to commanding his own squadron was no easy job, as Chappie James readily admits. 'Of course I got the breaks,' he says, 'but I couldn't have done it without Dottie.' "

At this praise, "Dottie smiles tranquilly, with obvious pride in her children and her dynamic six-foot-four husband, who flew 101 aerial-combat missions in Korea, and won the Distinguished Flying Cross for extraordinary achievement."

The James children, Danice, age 12, 10-year-old Danny ("Spike") and two-year-old Claude Andrew ("Spud") have been trained to accept the frequent moves and their father's necessary absences and irregular hours. Sometimes missions keep him out from early morning until midnight. Only once was he able to be home during the birth of a child—the last one, Spud's.

A lieutenant colonel with fourteen years in service, he gets $925 per month, including flight pay. Nearly every pay day, the Jameses add to the college fund for the children which they started several years ago. Dottie handles all the bills and the joint bank account. They own two cars, a '52 Cadillac and a new red Thunderbird. Since he must have immediate transportation available, they consider the two cars a necessity.

The Jameses like people, make friends easily and love to entertain. At Otis Air Force Base, Chappie's regiment was a close-knit, friendly group, the article relates. Social life ranged from informal drop-in visits to occasional formal parties at the club. Almost any Saturday night someone gave a party. For her own parties, Dottie likes to serve a buffet dinner centered around the family's favorite creole gumbo but sometimes she serves a Southern menu of fried chicken and grits. She is an excellent cook, the authors observe.

SOUTH CAROLINA ARISTOCRATS

WILLIAM FRANCIS GUESS writes in *Harper's Magazine* (February 1957) about "South Carolina's Aristocrats." South Carolinians belive that there are only two classes of people in the state — "aristocrats and everybody else." But their gentry ideas survive, as the author emphasizes, "in a context of racial caste." "If white South Carolinians have never been able to agree among themselves as to who was created equal to whom, they could agree that the Negro was created unequal to them all, and gentry could not quite disclaim the poor white aspiration to enjoy black labor," says Mr. Guess. Then he adds:

> The whole history of the state might be seen, in fact, as a series of engagements in which poor whites fought not to throw off their feudal oppressors but simply to share their feudal privileges. Or, to put it another way, the slaveless white fought for the hope of owning slaves.
>
> And he still fights in the deeps of his psyche and on the battleground of his political relation to the national government. The forms of slavery he has, of course, relinquished, but he retains the essential idea in his concept of the Negro as a caste apart, fated to labor and to serve. It was this theme that was implicit in 'The Southern Case Against Desegregation' by Thomas R. Waring, the editor of the Charleston *News and Courier*, in *Harper's* (January 1956). His spoken argument ran that the Negro's cultural, moral, and physical debasement made him an unworthy schoolmate for white children, but his unspoken case declared that the Negro was not meant to transcend his servant status.
>
> That attitude has had a bearing upon every recent political manifestation in South Carolina. It was evident in the espousal of Governor (now Senator) J. Strom Thurmond as Dixiecrat party candidate for president in 1948, in the nearly victorious Republicanism of 1952, and in the current recoil from an Eisenhower tarnished by the Supreme Court decision ordering integration in the public schools. And historians might reasonably claim that the Negro issue has provoked all the state's restive and defiant motions toward the federal power since the ablest political mind she ever produced, John C. Calhoun, fought his foredoomed battle for sectional rights early in the last century.
>
> If South Carolinians seem to regard the Negro in their present mood as a dark god of amorality and disease, that is partially because they resent the threat to their deeper and fonder image of him as genial field god. He is inseparable in that guise from their dream recollections of benignant rituals carried on in a plantation paradise. . . .

And even sophisticated Carolinians sound the melting note of reverie when they recall the past, their own or the ancestral legend, barely distinct in their minds. Their memories evoke the Negro in such close and fond relations that their rational horror of him as schoolmate and voting citizen fades to unreality. They recall seraphic nurses and cooks and black brothers of deer hunt and partridge shoot and fish fry.

But the fondness survives only in a caste context. . . .

The Negro has asserted his defiance in South Carolina chiefly by leaving it. Some are indifferent and some prosper enough to be content, but for most the Greyhound buses roll irresistibly north to "freedom." And they depart in such numbers that their ratio to whites in the population steadily declines. (Actually since 1880 it has fallen from 60 per cent to 38 per cent in 1950, the last census year.)

South Carolinians generally agree they're glad to see the Negro go, though one usually detects a note of defensive hurt in their brusque farewell-and-good-riddance. They're trapped. They can't do with and they can't do without. . . .

HOUSING PROBLEM

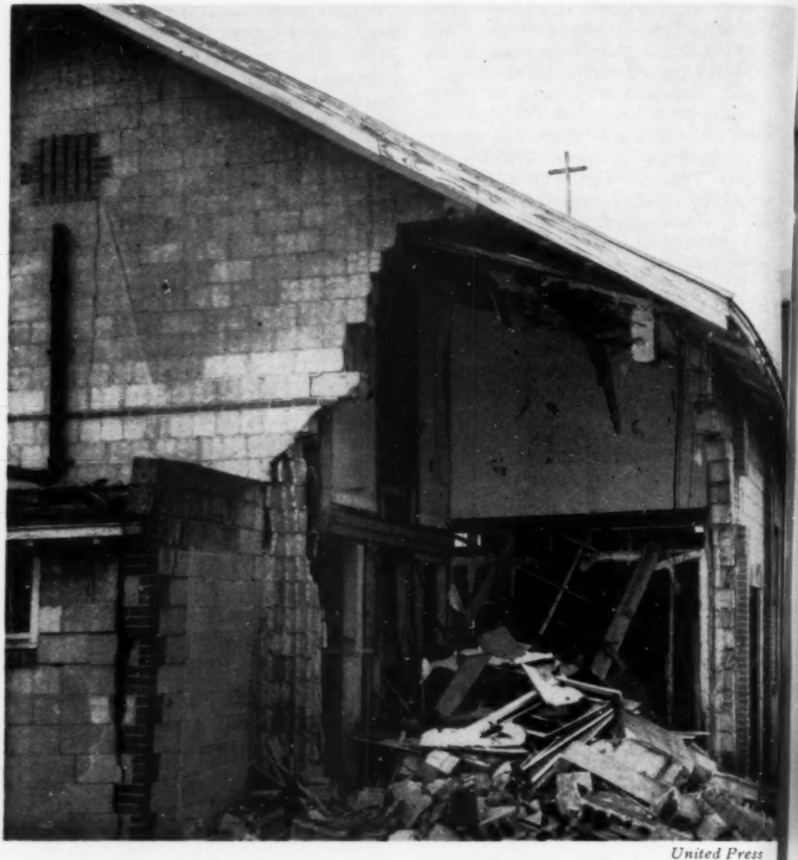
THE *Civil Rights Bulletin* (January 1957) of the Connecticut State Commission on Civil Rights points out that housing is still a crucial problem, especially for Negroes and Puerto Ricans:

Since the Supreme Court ruling the general public has heard a great deal about integration of the public schools. Our attention has focused on trends and episodes in the South. Those concerned with intergroup relations are well aware that we have a real problem of integration in education and other phases of community life in Connecticut. The segregation which is apparent in our major cities results not from legal sanction but from the traditional practice of excluding minority groups from many neighborhoods.

In the past, there has been an economic factor as well as prejudice involved in housing restrictions. With a high level of employment and an increasingly equitable distribution of jobs, the economic factor is of little significance. Many people who are able and anxious to purchase homes or rent decent apartments are unable to because of the reluctance of owners to deal with them. The result is that the areas in which minority groups live become increasingly crowded. Fantastic weekly rates are paid for rooms and rents which, in many instances, are scarcely suitable for human habitation and in numerous cases are substandard in every way.

As a result of the inability to live decently, many families break up. Social agencies are faced with a very grave problem in finding foster or adoptive homes for Negro and Puerto Rican children. In the Hartford area, for example, a special project has been developed for placing Negro children. Except for the few families in Public Housing projects who can provide care for foster children and a smaller number of families who have adequate private homes, placement workers are faced with the choice of keeping children in institutions or placing them with families in homes which do not meet minimum health and safety standards. In the Hartford area, there are over 100 children in such situations at present. Their needs can be met only when the housing problem is resolved by responsible officials and concerned individuals.

Connecticut is not uniquely involved in this situation. Other northern states have been working on this problem through legislation and education. New York has passed legislation banning discrimination in virtualy all housing to be built with government insurance. In



United Press

THE LONELY CROSS—*A lonely cross atop the steeple rises from the wreckage of the Bell Street Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama, heaviest hit of four Negro churches which were bombed in Montgomery early on January 10. Two private homes were also bombed in the latest outbreak of anti-integration strife.*

New Jersey, white residents have organized to integrate Negroes into their neighborhoods and to prevent "panic" selling. A study prepared by the University of California indicates that white neighborhoods are accepting non-white residents without incident. In Philadelphia a developer has built 101 homes in the $12,500 to $14,500 price range in which there are 55 per cent white residents and 45 per cent Negro. The same firm has built another group of 19 homes in the $18,850 to $24,000 bracket in which one third of the residents are Negro.

In Connecticut several groups are actively working to bring about needed changes. Housing committees are functioning in several of the larger cities. The Connecticut Committee to Combat Discrimination in Housing is composed of representatives from church groups, civic organizations, labor unions, and fraternal associations. These voluntary committees are planning legislative proposals and educational programs. The Commission staff works closely with these groups.

NEGRO BOBSLEDDER

AIRMAN First Class Clarence R. Sutton of Hampton, Virginia, is the first Negro to ride on a United States Bobsled Team. He was named brakeman on a United States Air Forces in Europe (USAFE) two-man bobsled.

Sutton's sled, piloted by Captain Hilleary Moore, 29, Western Springs, Ill., placed fourth in the Palace Cup race, first major bobsled race this season at St. Moritz, Switzerland with an aggregate time of 2:56.08 on the one-mile run.

Trial runs on the St. Moritz bob run qualified Sutton for the brakeman's position. With Franz Kapus, World Champion Bob Sled Driver, a trial run record was broken with a time of 1:23.

Sutton graduated from Hayden High School in 1949 and attended North Carolina College graduating there in 1953 with a Bachelor of Science Degree. He enlisted in the United States Air Force in March, 1954 and is presently an intelligence specialist at Headquarters USAFE in Wiesbaden, Germany.

Textbook authors Dr. Nick Aaron Ford (right) and Waters E. Turpin of Morgan State College, Baltimore, Marylan. (See "College News," page 180.)

Along the N. A. A. C. P. Battlefront

SPEED CIVIL RIGHTS

TWENTY-TWO organizations on February 6, through their spokesman, Roy Wilkins, urged the passage of federal legislation to safeguard the two "most basic" citizenship rights—the right to vote and the right to security of the person. Mr. Wilkins testified before the sub-committee of the House judiciary committee.

A bill containing the provisions recommended by Mr. Wilkins was passed in the House last year by a two-to-one bi-partisan majority.

To illustrate the urgent need for federal legislation protecting voting

Percy Myers

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE *dinner of the Kansas City, Missouri, branch given in honor of Noah W. Griffin (standing second from left) for his services to the branch and the NAACP. At left, standing, is Judge Carl R. Johnson, branch president.*

Godbey

JAMES A. CRUMLIN, *president of the Kentucky State Conference of NAACP branches, shows some of the baskets bought by his conference and distributed to persons reported to be in destitute condition at Christmas time. The conference distributed baskets in Louisville, Owensboro, and Irvington. The conference gave Mr. and Mrs. James E. Gordon, whose child was involved in the Clay, Kentucky, integration fracas, $500 in cash.*

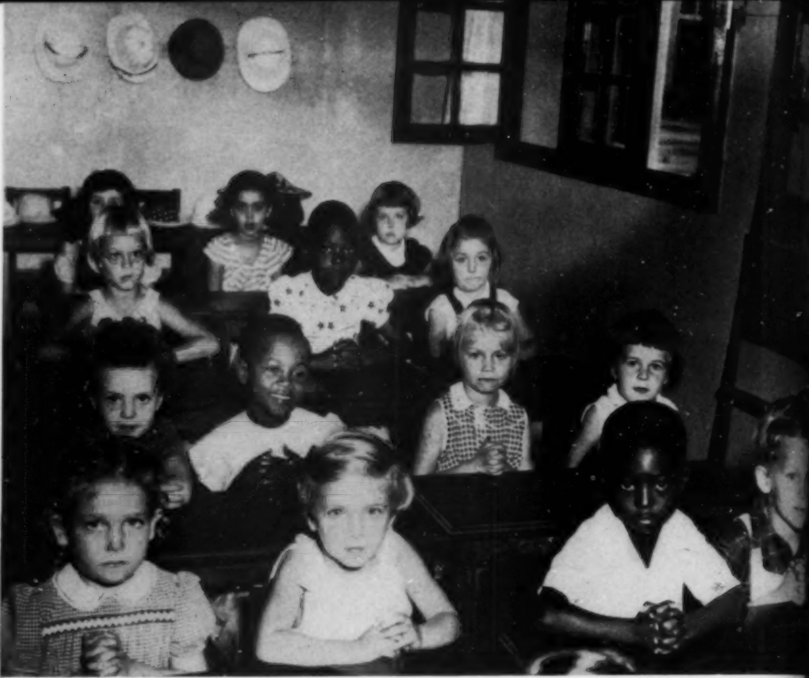
rights and security of the person, Mr. Wilkins cited situations in Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi.

Negro Alabamans who attempted to register to vote are asked questions such as "How many persons are on the United States payroll?" and "What was the nineteenth state admitted to the Union?" he said.

The "latest effort" to prevent Negroes of Macon county, Alabama, from voting was described by the NAACP official as the refusal by state official to appoint a full board of registrars.

Mr. Wilkins emphasized that although the organizations he represented urged immediate passage of H.R. 627 or a similar bill, they considered the measure "a compromise bill" which does not take into account discrimination in employment and interstate transportation, the poll tax, or "violence directed against members of the armed services."

H. R. 627, which was passed last year by the House, includes provisions to:



Catholic Interracial Council

WHILE *the Deep South balks at public school integration, the Belgian Congo, Africa, goes ahead with its educational integration. A class in the first primary year of the Sacred Heart Academy (a Catholic school) at Kalina, Léopoldville, Belgian Congo.*

—Strengthen the U.S. Justice Department and the courts to protect American citizens whose right to vote or whose personal security has been threatened or removed because of race, national origin or religious affiliation;

—Provide a special civil rights division in the U.S. Department of Justice;

—Establish a bi-partisan commission to investigate civil rights violations.

THE House committee members were told that although the NAACP and other organizations he represented were willing to accept a "minimum" civil rights bill, it must be a "meaningful" bill.

"We favor a civil rights division in the Department of Justice, and we favor a commission on civil rights, as they were incorporated in H.R. 627 last year," Mr. Wilkins asserted. "But we regard the creation of such agencies as supplements to, not substitutes for, meaninful civil rights legislation."

The organizations on whose behalf Mr. Wilkins testified, in addition to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, were The American Civil Liberties Union, American Council on Human Rights, American Ethical Union's National Committee on Public Affairs, American Jewish Congress, Americans for Democratic Action, American Veterans Committee, Friends' Committee on National Legislation, Improved Ben-

Scott L. Henderson

ANOTHER LIFE MEMBER—*The People's Political and Civic League of Richmond, Virginia, makes its first $100 payment on its NAACP life membership. Pictured (from L) are Sylvester Dance, financial secretary; Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president of the Richmond NAACP branch and the Virginia state life membership committee; St. Elmo Reid, first vice-president; Catherine Cephas, second vice-president; Steven Jones, third vice-presidnt; and Emanuel Williams, League president.*

evolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World, and the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers AFL-CIO.

Others were the Japanese-American Citizens League, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A., National Alliance of Postal Employees, National Community Relations Advisory Council, National Council of Negro Women, Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, United Automobile Workers of America AFL-CIO, United Hebrew Trades, United Steelworkers of America, Workers Defense League, and Workmens Circle.

HOSPITAL CONFERENCE

THE National Conference on Hospital Integration explored, on March 8-9 at a meeting held in Washington, D.C., ways and means of achieving racial integration in hospitals. The conference was co-sponsored by the NAACP, the National Medical Association, and the Medico-Chirurgical Society of the District of Columbia. Dr. W. Montague Cobb of the Howard University Medical School, and a member of the NAACP board of directors and the chairman of the NAACP national health committee, served as chairman of the conference.

Among those attending the conference were representatives of national organizations, private and governmental, directly or indirectly connected with hospital services.

In addition to devising an action program to bring about racial integration in hospitals, the conference also formulated a comprehensive statement of present hospital discrimination as it exists in all sections of the United States.

It is still a fact that many hospitals, north, south, east and west, do not admit Negro patients. Others admit them only on a segregated basis. This often means over-crowded, poorly equipped wards in older, more or less discarded sections of buildings of sub-standard maintenance and repair. The traditional abomination, the basement ward, is still to be found in many places.

It remains true that in many areas where their services are in great demand, Negro physicians cannot obtain staff appointments to local hospitals because of the color bar, and this irrespective of qualification or the section of the country. It is also true that the attempt made in some places to afford limited staff appointments for colored physicians, where segregated facilities are provided for them and their patients, is no answer to the problem and an unacceptable approach according to the principles of American democracy.

NEW FIELD SECRETARY

CALVIN D. BANKS of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, has been appointed an NAACP field secretary. Mr. Banks will have his office in Philadelphia and will cover the tri-state area of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware.

He holds degrees from Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland, and Temple University in Philadelphia. He most recently served as industrial secretary for the Armstrong League in Philadelphia, an organization affiliated with the National Urban League. He had previously taught in the public schools of Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Sparrows Point, Maryland. During World War II, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Chemical Warfare Service and served in the Southwest Pacific Theater.

THIS *huge audience enjoyed itself at the teen-age talent show sponsored last December by the Bronx, New York, NAACP youth council.*

What the Branches Are Doing

California: Former Brooklyn Dodger player Jackie Robinson was principal speaker at two NAACP west coast meetings in January. He spoke in the Oakland arena on January 27, and in Los Angeles on January 28.

Out-going president Paul F. Byrd of the PALO ALTO-STANFORD branch reports a very successful year for his branch in the areas of politics, education, membership, and fund raising.

Connecticut: The BRIDGEPORT-STRATFORD branch has contributed $1,000 to the legal department of the Association.

Illinois: The CHICAGO branch celebrated Negro History Week with a gigantic Negro history pageant consist-

UPSILON PHI *chapter of Omega Psi Phi fraternity of North Jersey, and Charles Richardson of Bloomfield, New Jersey, take out NAACP life memberships. Dr. Ulysses Campbell (right), basileus, presents $100 initial payment to Curtis Parker, branch life membership chairman. Mr. Richardson (second from left) waits to present his check. The woman is Mrs. S. L. Catlett, president Montclair, New Jersey, branch.*

EARL DICKERSON *(center), president Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Company and NAACP board member, congratulates fellow board member Kivie Kaplan on his address at initial meeting of the Greater Chicago, Illinois, NAACP Life Membership Committee. Branch president Willoughby Abner is at right, and at left are Walter Lowe and Gertrude Gorman.*

ing of music, song, drama, pantomine, and dance at the DuSable high school auditorium. Langston Hughes, noted author, wrote the pageant prologue, and Dr. Ruth Allen Fouche directed the production.

Willoughby Abner was unanimously re-elected branch president at the annual branch meeting on January 11. Other executive officers elected were Gerald Bullock, first vice-president; M. T. Blanton, second vice-president; Rev. Morris T. Tynes, third vice-president; Vivian Moore, fourth vice-president; Mrs. Marguerite Ivy, secretary; Mrs. Effie P. Norman, assistant secretary; and Mrs. Beatrice Steele, treasurer.

Governor William G. Stratton was

Major Braxton of Amityville, Long Island, New York, congratulates Rev. Robert C. Chapman (right) after installing him as president of the Hempstead, Long Island, branch. branch. Outgoing branch president Hubert Green is in center.

taken to task by the ILLINOIS CONFERENCE OF NAACP BRANCHES for his failure to deal with FEPC, equal-job opportunities, and other civil rights issues in his inaugural address. The governor made no mention of civil-rights in setting forth his legislative program.

Massachusetts: Former Justice Hubert T. Delany of the New York City domestic relations court was principal speaker at the Sinai Temple Men's Club in BOSTON on January 16. Following the inspiring talk of Judge Delany, Kivie Kaplan made a stirring appeal for support of the NAACP through life memberships. As a result he got three life memberships on the spot, with possibilities for three others.

Minnesota: Mrs. Vernon Mikkelson, a member of the MINNEAPOLIS branch for several years, now becomes the first full-fledged life member in the city.

New York: The JAMAICA branch closed the year 1956 with 2,953 members, only 47 members short of its 3,000-membership goal, and a cash bank balance of $2,627.52. The branch celebrated Negro History Week with contest prize awards and an address by James Hicks of the *Amsterdam News.*

When the BRONX branch opened its office on February 1 at 950 Prospect Avenue, it had a home for the first time in its history. "Having our own branch headquarters is a sign of our coming of age," said branch president Elsie Carrington.

Rev. Robert C. Chapman is the new president of the HEMPSTEAD branch.

The CORONA-EAST ELMHURST branch sponsored a dance on March 15 to raise funds to help carry on as well as to expand branch work.

West coast secretary-council Franklin H. Williams was principal speaker at installation services of the CENTRAL LONG ISLAND branch. Mrs. Olive Campbell installed the newly elected officers, who are Dr. Eugene T. Reed, president, elected for a third term; Major Braxton, first vice-president; Mrs. S. D. Cumberbach, second vice-president; Mrs. Geraldine Allen, third vice-president; Laska Strachan, secretary; Undine Matthews, assistant secretary; and E. M. Cumberbach, treasurer. Mrs. Campbell also administered the oath to the 14-member branch executive committee.

New Jersey: Upilson Phi chapter of Omega Psi Phi fraternity of North Jersey and Charles Richardson of Bloomfield are the most recent life members of the MONTCLAIR branch.

Pennsylvania: Next goal of the PENNSYLVANIA CONFERENCE OF NAACP BRANCHES is a state law banning discrimination in housing.

Final installment of $200 on the State Conference's NAACP life membership will be made at the April 6 regional meeting.

The PHILADELPHIA branch, through its labor and industry committee, is working to have Negroes admitted to membership in the International Brotherhood Electrical Workers Union, Local #98.

Dr. Harry J. Greene, at the freedom fund dinner held in New York City in January, turned over a $1,000 check to executive secretary Roy Wilkins as another payment on the local branch's share of the freedom fund.

West Virginia: The Rev. A. S. Parker, pastor of the Ebenezer Methodist church, was recently installed as president of the HUNTINGTON branch to replace retiring president Andrew McDade, who was named vice-president.

College and School News

A grand total of $2,804,841, including contributions from all sources, was received by the United Negro College Fund for its member institutions during 1956, according to Fund executive director W. J. Trent, Jr.

"An increase in the number of business firms contributing to the annual appeal and a rise in corporate support were significant factors in achieving the largest campaign returns in the Fund's 12-year history," Mr. Trent explained.

■

The Puerto Rican migrant and the cultural, economic, educational, racial and political factors in his background are treated in a course now being offered by the Columbia University department of sociology. The course, now in its fourth year, was started at the suggestion of a number of New York educational, civic, and welfare institutions. Clarence Senior, author of several research studies in the field of demography and lecturer in sociology at Columbia, teaches the course.

■

The Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., has sent a New Year's contribution of $1,567.80 to the Inter-Civic Council of Tallahassee, Florida, to help the council in its campaign to establish integrated bus transportation in the capital city of Florida.

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Thomas K. Finletter, former secretary of the Air Force, launched the second semester of The Institute for Religious and Social Studies at a meeting held at THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA (New York City) on January 10. He spoke on the subject "Are We Preparing for Peace or for War?"

■

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY'S second annual alumni dinner was held in the dining hall of the institution by the local John W. Barco Alumni Chapter in January. President Dr. Samuel D. Proctor was presented at this time and more than 150 alumni heard him outline the four objectives of the university for the current school year.

The annual table-tennis tournament was held at the university in February as part of a nation-wide program to locate and reward outstanding table-tennis players.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, FISK UNIVERSITY'S late president, has been elected by readers of *Ebony* magazine to the Ebony Hall of Fame, which memorializes distinguished American Negroes whose achievements have contributed to the progress of the Negro and the American way of life.

Scholarship aid valued at over $200,000 will be awarded to high school seniors this year by twenty-three privately-endowed colleges in eleven states. Awards will be allocated on the basis of scores made on Cooperative Inter-collegiate Examinations given in 182 high schools throughout the country between February 23 and March 8. Fisk is one of the cooperating colleges.

■

Dr. Nick Aaron Ford, professor and head of the department of English at MORGAN STATE COLLEGE, and Waters E. Turpin, associate profes-

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DIRECTOR of ADMISSIONS and PLACEMENT

sor of English, have just signed a contract with G. P. Putnam's Sons for the publication of their new book, *Remedial English for College Students*. This is the first textbook in the field of English published in recent years by Negro scholars.

Morgan is assembling a high-level faculty for the Morgan State College Summer Institute for high school teachers of science to be held June 24-August 16 on a $66,000 grant from the National Science Foundation.

■

President Alonzo G. Moron of HAMPTON INSTITUTE has been named for the second consecutive year as one of seven outstanding national leaders to spearhead the annual American Red Cross membership and fund campaign.

■

TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY invites scholars and interested persons to use its Heartman Negro Collection. This collection, purchased during the early years of Texas Southern from Charles Heartman, a book dealer, is of enormous historical and educational value. The collection consists of books, pamphlets, periodicals, maps, broadsides, documents, almanacs, lithographs, oil paintings, musical scores, clippings, cartoons, and various curios dating from 1600 to 1955.

■

Dr. Grant S. Shockley, minister of the Janes Methodist church in

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Brooklyn, New York, will teach the "Religious Education of Adults" course at New York University's School of Education. Dr. Shockley, the author of numerous articles on religion and formerly a professor at Gammon Theological Seminary and Clark college, assumes his duties at NYU with the beginning of the spring term.

Dr. Shockley's church, the Janes Methodist church, has the only all-Negro congregation in the New York East Conference of Methodist Churches.

DR. RUDOLPH JONES, *newly-elected president of Fayetteville State Teachers College. See opposite column.*

The Fayetteville State Teachers College unit of the North Carolina Teachers College Association honored newly-elected FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE's president Dr. Rudolph Jones with a dinner on January 22. Guest speakers for the affair were Dr. William Green, executive secretary of the NCTCA, and Caswell Carter, instructor in mathematics at Shaw.

Mrs. Mae H. Seabrook, in the area of science and mathematics at FST, was one of several thousand scientists in attendance at the 123rd annual session of the American Association for the Advancement of Science held in New York City last December.

■

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The NEW SCHOOL (New York City) expects to offer an increasing number of courses on Africa as well as opening the facilities of the school for special lectures and discussion of African affairs.

■

Ernestine Buntin, senior nurse at MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE, will attend the International Congress for Nurses in Rome, Italy, in April. Miss Buntin was chosen in competition with nurses from sixteen other schools of nursing in Tennessee.

The Meharry department of surgery has been further strengthened by addition of twelve part-time men and guest lecturers who are associated with Vanderbilt university.

More than 10,000 patients will receive free routine chest X-ray examinations at Hubbard Hospital during the comping year, according to Dr. C. J. Tarleton, chairman of the department of radiology at Meharry.

■

THE JOHNSON & JOHNSON ANNUAL YOUTH SCHOLARSHIP FUND is now open for contestants. The fund consists of a $75,000 grant to be implemented by the Johnson & Johnson Scholarship Contest. In all, 49 prizes will be awarded in the following manner: grand prize, $10,000; two second prizes, $5,000 each; four third prizes, $2,500 each; six fourth prizes, $1,500 each; and thirty-six fifth prizes, $1,000 each.

The contest is open to any individual of any age in the United States and Canada, except employees and their families of Johnson & Johnson and its affiliated companies, and of Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company and its agents and their advertising agents.

Entry blanks can be had by writing to the National Youth Scholarship Committee, 130 East 59th Street, New York City 22. The contest opened February 4 and closes May 4, 1957.

■

Lincoln Ellsworth, 1880-1951," an exhibition of memorabilia belonging to the first man to fly across both the Arctic and Antarctic, went on view in THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY (New York City) on January 10.

■

Dr. Frank Snowden, dean of the college of liberal arts at Howard and former cultural attaché to the American Embassy at Rome, Italy, spoke at SPELMAN COLLEGE recently on European attitudes toward American education and toward civil rights.

Elmer Dickey, tenor, was presented in a concert at the college on February 8.

■

Among the recent speakers at ATLANTA UNIVERSITY were Dr. Renzio Morchio, cultural affairs assistant of the United States Information Agency in Rome, Italy; Dr. Ray Birdwhistell, associate professor of anthropology at the University of Buffalo, founder of the science of kinesics, the study of gesture and body motion; Dr. Armand J. Eardley, dean of the University of Utah's

(*Continued on page* 190)

Book Reviews

COLOR AND PREJUDICE

***Les Tensions Raciales dans l'Union Sud-Africaine et leurs Incidences Internationales [Racial Tensions in the South African Union and Their International Repercussions].* Par Franck L. Schoell. Genéve: Librairie E. Droz, 1956. 125 pp.**

***Drum: A Venture Into the New Africa.* By Anthony Sampson. London: Collins, 1956. 256 pp. Illustrated from photographs. 16s. ($2.25).**

These two books are concerned with the racial maelstrom in South Africa. Mr. Schoell gives the scholar's sober, factual account of South African society; Mr. Sampson reveals the urban aspects of that same society by reporting his exciting experiences as editor of the African magazine *Drum.*

Mr. Schoell, a French specialist on racial questions, and a former professor at the universities of Chicago and California, spent two years (1953-1955) as United Nations expert on racial questions in the Union of South Africa. Previously his ten-year stay in the United States had resulted in two books on America's Negro-white problem: *La Question des Noirs aux Etats-Unis* (1923) [Reviewed in the June 1924 *Crisis* at page 83] and *U.S.A. Du Côté des Blancs et du Côté des Noirs* (1927). His present study is the first volume of a series on Africa being published by The Graduate Institute of International Studies of Geneva.

Beginning with a general geographical and historical background, *Racial Tensions . . .* covers the racial composition of the people, their racial attitudes, the racial tensions, and the consequent international repercussions, with a concluding chapter interpreting the evidence.

Racial discrimination is nothing new in South Africa. The late Field-Marshal Smuts was as much a segregationist and as ardent a white-supremacist as present Prime Minister Strijdom or the retired minister Dr. Malan. The novelty is the neologism *apartheid,* a new term for a hallowed practice, *segregasie* or segregation, and the South African Government's deliberately choosing to be the bitter-end champion of white supremacy. The legal basis for *apartheid* is found in three separate enactments: the Group Areas Act, the Immorality Amendment Act, and the Mixed Marriages Act. The first, considered the cornerstone of *apartheid* policy, although it has been on the statute books for seven years, has not been strictly enforced, and because of previously inconceivable difficulties has been amended three times. In Johannesburg demographic problems made it necessary for the government to pass a special law.

The Immorality Amendment Act

amends the original Immorality Act enacted in 1927. The original Act, howver, was never strictly enforced. The new Act enlarges the scope of the ban by substituting the phrase "all non-Europeans" for "Native," thus taking in Indians, Malays, and the "Colored" groups. Both the Immorality Amendment Act and the Mixed Marriages Act are designed to continue the "existence of the white population." Mention should be made of three other acts—Suppression of Communism Act, Public Safety Act, and the Criminal Law Amendment Act—used by the government to crush opposition and to silence criticism. There is also the Government Notice No. 2017 designed to control public meetings of Africans.

One factor that works in favor of the Nationalist Government in enforcing its *apartheid* policies is the polyglot and fissiparous nature of the Union's populace. The whites are divided into Afrikaans and non-Afrikaans; the non-whites, into Indians, Malays, Colored (further subdivided into semi-whites, dark-browns, and dark-colored), Natives or *Naturelle* (separated by their tribal customs and languages into Basuto, Tondo, Venda, Bapedi, Sotho, Xhosa, Zulu, Pondo, Tembu, Ronga, etc.), and the Jewish community. Each group is mutually suspicious of and prejudiced toward the other. This is one reason, Mr. Schoell explains, why there has been no mass non-white revolt against the repressive policies of the Nationalist Government. Another is the comparative prosperity of the urbanized non-white elements. Though their pay is meager it is a fortune compared to what they earned on the farms or the Reserves.

Despite its attitudes and policies toward non-whites, the South African State, Mr. Schoell points out, is indisputably based on democratic concepts and that so far as the relations between whites and whites are concerned it is still a democracy with the usual democratic social and political institutions. Nevertheless, the Union wears the habiliments of a totalitarian and police state in its treatment, with its surveillance and police intimidation, of its non-European populace.

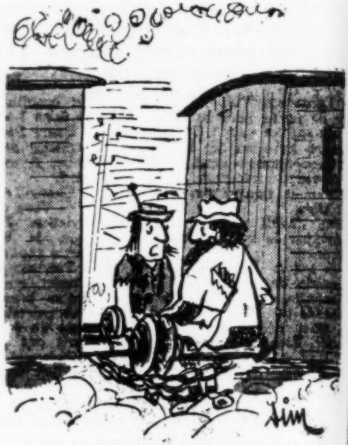
The international repercussions resulting from *apertheid* have come chiefly from the Union's relations with the United Nations over ill-treatment of Indians (a question constantly raised by India) and the Union's unilateral incorporation of South West Africa. There are, of course, the reverberations of specific acts of cruelty and discrimination which have given the Union a very bad international press. The Bandung Conference, to which South Africa was not invited, singled out the Union for condemnation of its racial policies. Mr. Schoell offers a lucidly concise report on the fundamentals of a complex racial problem. His book should be read with interest by everyone concerned with racial problems.

Mr. Sampson, in *Drum,* is concerned, not with primitive tribesmen, but with the slick, jazz-conscious townsmen of Johannesburg. "I have tried," Mr. Sampson says, "to show something of the view of South Africa and its problems which I gained from the standpoint of my unusual job, of being white editor of a black paper, and how, in the course of our venture, my knowledge of urban Africa deepened, and I was able to penetrate behind the high wall of apartheid that runs through South African life."

Drum was edited (with emphasis on African culture and history) to attract an African readership in the towns, but, to the astonishment of its publishers, they discovered that urbanized Africans were not interested in tribal music and tribal history; that Africans, like everyone else, were interested in scandal, sex, and the personal and domestic problems of celebrities. Reports on shebeens (drinking parties), shebeen queens, dagga-dens (dope dens), tsotsis (zoot-suiters), noasisas (girl tsotsis), and matsisis (pickpockets), and beauty queens therefore got almost as much attention in the pages of *Drum* as veiled attacks on *apartheid* and investigations of the Johannesburg Central Jail, with its dancing naked men, and the notorious farming area of Bethal.

The magazine had an interracial staff and Mr. Sampson wisely allows his African colleagues to tell their own story. Though the outlook seems gloomy, he says, with the insults and humiliations inflicted by *apartheid* upon Africans, "Africans have not yet turned to hating. . . . There are still friendships across the color line, and bridges across the gap. The racial clash that the world expects in South Africa is still some way off. . . ." *Drum* is a deeply moving human-interest story told in a lively and often humorous style.

JAMES W. IVY



— Encore la Côte d'Azur cette année ?...

So it's the Côte d'Azur again this year?

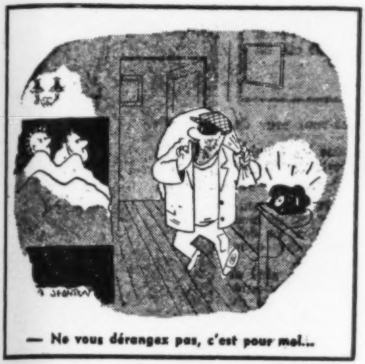
Best Cartoons of the Year 1956. Edited by Lawrence Lariar. Being a selection, by the artists themselves, of the best cartoons they drew for the leading magazines in the country during the past year. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1956. 126pp. 207 cartoons. $2.95.

Best Cartoons From Abroad—1956. Edited by Lawrence Lariar and Ben Roth. A collection of the best cartoons from the outstanding publications all over the world. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1956. 126 pp. 184 cartoons. $2.95.

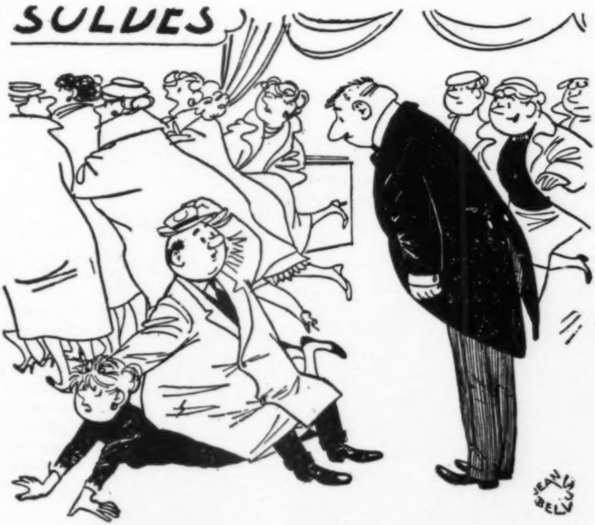
David Low once quoted a well-known professional humorist to this effect: "One of the most lamentable shortcomings of the human race is the inability of its various members always to see the same joke." There is daily less and less truth in this statement, for more and more people throughout the world are showing a surprising ability to see the laughable and the absurd in the same things, especially if they are pictorialized. The ubiquitousness of Western Culture makes this possible, among the middle and upper classes anyway. Only when a joke or cartoon gets its punch from what is idiosyncratic to a given country is the outsider likely to miss the point. An American cartoon involving a dog and the fireplug would be, say, pointless in fireplug-less Paris. But any Frenchman or Filipino would get the point if you substituted a tree. Likewise a French J-3 cartoon would be meaningless to an American since we did not have, during rationing, a number J-3 card for youngsters too old for the chocolate ration but too young for cigarettes. Nor would an American get the point of a Brazilian cartoon involving white license tags or *chapas-brancas* because our government officials do not use automobiles having white license plates.

The cartoons in these two volumes, whether from America, France, England, Italy, India, Australia, Spain, Mexico, Brazil, or Germany are full of waggery and can be understood by anybody, since they have been "selected strictly for laughs." There is a slight difference, in the broad sense, between the cartoons from abroad and our own. The foreign ones are more sophisticated, often more sexy, and exhibit more drollery. Both volumes are full of boisterous gaiety and chuckles and will brighten anyone's evenings.

J.W.I.


— Ne vous dérangez pas, c'est pour moi...

My call, don't disturb yourselves!



— Non, c'est seulement une vendeuse que je retiens pour ma femme.

No trouble —just the saleslady I'm holding for my wife.

Hansen Studio

THE GRACE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH *of New York City becomes a life member of the NAACP. Attorney Jeff Greenup (right) presents the $500 membership check to Gertrude Gorman, NAACP field secretary, while Dr. William H. King, pastor, and Russell P. Crawford (left), New York City branch president, look on.*

Rocky Mount, North Carolina, Omegas pay half of their NAACP life membership as Dr. Joseph W. Parker, Jr. (second from L) gives $250 check to local branch president Charlie Jones. Alex Bryant is at left; J. B. Harren at right. Dr. Parker is paying on a personal life membership.

President Robert C. Chapman of the Hempstead, Long Island, New York, branch, smiles delightedly as he accepts NAACP membership from 72-year-old Mrs. Nettie Murrey of Hempstead. Major Braxton of Amityville is at left; Hubert Green, outgoing president, at right.

NAACP membership secretary Lucille Black accepts $250 check and report from New York City mid-town post office employees John A. Kirby, Jr. (left) and Jerry Jones. Mr. Kirby has led the annual NAACP drive at his office since 1951.

The Amity Birthday Club of Eureka, California, takes out a life membership in the NAACP.

COLLEGE NEWS

(*Continued from page* 183)

College of Mines and Mineral Industries, who spoke on mountain building; and Dr. Arthur D. Gray, president of Talladega college.

Dr. William Faulkner, pastor of the Park Manor Congregational church, was the speaker as the Atlanta University Center observed religious emphasis week, March 3-6.

Atlanta is one of 95 institutions throughout the United States and its terriories which has been chosen by the National Science Foundation to give a summer institute for teachers of science and mathematics under foundation sponsorship.

■

Ninety-one years of existence was observed at LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) on January 13 as the institution which was founded in 1866 held its annual founders' day convocation. Speaker for the occasion was Theodore McMillan, circuit court judge of the eighth judicial circuit court in St. Louis, Missouri.

Lincoln is now the official U. S. Weather Bureau observation and recording center for the Jefferson City area. When a Lincolnite wants to know about the weather all he has to do is to pick up his telephone and call the university greenhouse or the Page Library.

More than 60 different courses leading to degree credit are being offered in the late afternoon and even at the university during the second semester.

The original Don Cossack Chorus and Dancers, Serge Jaroff, conductor, was presented in a concert at VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE on February 11.

◆

SEGREGATION

(*Continued from page* 138)

people of color from the main stream of progress, robbing them of any hope of recognition on the basis of individual achievement. . . .

In effect, the South made a bargain with the Negro and the rest of the nation which, if written down, would have read something like this: Let us keep our white institutions separate and we will see to it that your Negro institutions are equally as good. However, this bargain has not been kept.

Strongly extenuating circumstances have been pleaded by the South but, as convincing as they might seem, they do not make the Negro happy about being jim crowed and discriminated against. The wishful thinking of some Southerners who assert that "our Negroes are satisfied unless they are stirred up by agitators" is far from the truth. What is reallv stirring them up is that they are deeply disturbed and disappointed by their own constant observation of the numerous good things of democracy which are labeled "for white only."

We recognized a need
. . . and filled it!

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>
> John Gunther, *Inside Africa*

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- the leaders of free Ghana
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